415 "The best pieces of equipment of which they can boast are
923 some small vessels of "palo santo" [lignum vital—a kind of wood--
Translator] and a few small clay pots with very narrow mouths and
two little handles which serve them as water flasks on their frequent
raiding forays."

302 "Men and women alike shave their heads completely. They
use, for that purpose, the sharp jaw of a certain fish, and their own
teeth serve them to pare their nails. They cover themselves as best
291 they are able from their waists to their knees. The men, on gala
286 occasions, often wear a sort of sleeveless jacket and hang a kind of
415 bag from one shoulder in which they keep a crude wooden pipe, fire
[276] making equipment and other nicknacks. Both the bag and the coat
are knitted, made from agave or chaguar fiber, and curiously marked.
302 They pull out their beards, eyelashes and eyebrows, and either to
improve their looks or in order to appear more terrible in battle, they
blacken their faces and chests with coal dust."

262 "Their favorite food is fish, and lacking this, all kinds of wild
fruits or roots other than the poisonous ones. Their principal vegetable
food, on which they can count for a quarter of each year and which they
store to some small extent, is the fruit of the algarrobo, chañar and
mistol. They also eat, and that without repugnance, lizards, locusts,
crickets [593], mice, and even eggs after they have been abandoned,
together with other filth. They eat fish and any other kind of meat
[252] or roots, roasted or boiled, and know of no other way of preparing food.
[261] They can withstand hunger admirably, and when they are unable to get
other food they spend their time lying about chewing some herb or leaf
from the forest."

273 "From the algarroba [pod which grows on the algarrobo tree--
579 Translator] they make a beverage which is extremely delicious to their
taste and which intoxicates them and makes them very fierce. Their
drunken parties almost always end in a fierce fight which would have
dire results were it not that the women, who never drink of that liquor,
are careful to hide the arrows and all other offensive weapons and to
hold back and separate those engaged in fighting."

533 "When the algarroba starts to turn yellow, they place in a cen-
222 tral place among the huts, the pimpin, which is a log, concave at its
upper end, covered with a piece of hide. A drummer with a belt about

533 his waist from which hang a number of shells, claws, little horns,
222 teeth and similar trifles, beats on that rustic drum day and night without ceasing and, with the continous movement of his body, makes the trinkets about his waist rattle all this accompanied by a song or rather a lugubrious and high-pitched shouting which can be heard at a great distance. This ridiculous performance is not a simple demonstration of rejoining but rather, in their opinion, a rite necessary to hasten the ripening of the longed for and beneficent fruit."

"When a woman arrives from the forest laden with fruit, roots
222 or other eatables, all the other women of the village crowd to her
262 hut and she, after having set aside enough for the sustenance of her family, distributes the rest, the other women not saying a word of
[626] showing any sign of appreciation. Were she to refrain from giving away her surplus, it would cause the greatest displeasure, and might even provoke some dangerous quarrel."

"The Mataguayos are timid and cowardly, but vengeful in
181 the extreme. They never forget an offense—sooner or later they will
[671] be avenged. The law of requital is unbreakable for them. They avoid making war when this is possible, but if they are attacked they
[411] defend themselves. Their most common weapon is the arrow."

"They recognize no authority and no law. The child obeys
593 its parents if it wishes to and the latter, though they may love their children, have no power at all over them. Nevertheless one does not generally encounter lack of respect toward the old or toward the unfortunate." [594]

"The men busy themselves with fishing and only very rarely
462 indulge in hunting. Their agricultural activities are limited to the
[241] sowing of a few clumps of pumpkins and watermelons. With the
[283] juice of the latter they make aloja. Some of them also devote their time to making thin ropes of agave fiber with which they construct their nets."

"All other work is done by the women. She must not only prepare the food but also fetch fruit and roots from the forest; not only bring water but also chop firewood; not only look after the cleanliness of the hut but also make it. In one word: she is a slave."

"When a girl reaches nubility she is hidden in a corner of the
881 hut and covered with fronds and rags. It is illicit for her to speak to anybody or taste meat or fish for a determined length of time. Meanwhile a drummer goes through the same ceremony in front of her

273 when the drink excites them too much and infuriates them. In this
579 way many wounds and deaths are avoided, yet in spite of it they are frequent."

273 "The fruit which they most commonly use to make their brews
221 is the algarrobo pod, which is quite sweet and nutritious and probably the most abundant fruit in those regions. When the season for this fruit is in the offing it would seem that new life, happiness and pleasure are born, and the Indians prepare for it by putting on a show to get everyone to make ready for the coming of the happy and much sighed for season."

222 "To this effect, when the pods of the algarrobo start to turn
●535 yellow they place a wooden mortar in front of their dwellings, and
789 cover it with a half tanned sheep skin or the skin of some other animal. One of them, with a piece of cord or leather thong bound about his waist from which hang a number of shells, horns and small bones, and other things which will make a little noise, starts [601] to pound with a small stick on the mortar, which they call pimpin and which takes the place of a drum. This drummer accompanies the blows dealt to the pimpin with divers body movements, half dancing but rooted to the spot, in such a manner that the objects which hang from his waist make a tambourine-like sound, something like the rattling of empty nutshells; singing meanwhile out loud but in a sad monotonous way—one would say that they fear some great calamity or are asking for help in a grim battle. The fact of the matter is that day and night, without ceasing, the low hollow sounds of the pimpin must be made, together with the rattling of the wild tambourine and the shouts or lamentations of the sorrowful singer—and all this they say is to bring about the quicker and better ripening of the desired fruit. That is why, when the singer-musician tires, another immediately replaces him.

342 "The houses of the Matacos are altogether too small and uncomfortable, but they make them so on purpose for they are thus able to husband time and fatigue, preferring ease in building to living comfort. They cut a couple of saplings or thin branches, bend them and stick the ends into the ground in the form of two crossed arches, tie a few handsful of straw to them and the house is finished. The entrance is low and narrow and one must enter on all fours. The appearance of the hut is that of an oven two or three yards in diameter. If the cutting of a few boughs looms difficult to them, then they cut several canes,

756 witchdoctors of the vicinity, who never declare the man beyond re-
554 covery but bend their every effort in making a great show of their ridiculous and childish practices in order to make death keep away. Gathered, then, in the invalid's hut, they stand about him at some little distance in a semicircle and do not take their eyes off him but observe his every movement with care. They begin to blow and gesture with their hands, now forcefully and with verve, now slowly and softly according as they see that the patient seems more fatigued or gets back some of his strength; and all this in order to pretend that they see death approaching and are trying to chase it away. In the
● [533] same manner they begin to sing in base, funereal tones an air similar to a continuous harsh howling, and, being guided by the condition of the invalid they modify their expressions, gestures and tone of voice. The stricken person for his part always tries, by means of his fatigue, his cries or moans, his frightened eyes and perturbed expression to let the others know what he is feeling and the state he considers himself to be in; and the witchdoctors, following these obvious signs, gesticulate more or less, blow and howl with greater or less softness [606] or loudness, come close and hurl themselves wildly towards the invalid or gently fall back a short distance. When it seems that the sick man is about to die they come at a bound so close to him, heightening their gestures to such a pitch and howling so unceasingly and in such broken, forced and hoarse tones, with eyes so wide open and fearful and with so many expressions of terror, that anyone could easily be led to believe that they do in fact see death in the guise of some deformed and terrible figure and that they wish to frighten it, make it flee or seize it. All this is done so seriously and naturally that no one would suspect them of perpetrating a hoax or deceiving; but the fact is that even if the invalid were still able to live for a while, terror would soon finish him off."

"The witchdoctors are also believed to have the power to drive away and make disappear plagues and calamities such as smallpox, which wreaks havoc among them; the lack of water or its excess and other things. To this end the witchdoctors meet, go off a little way from the camp and, seated upon the ground, like so many Jeremiahs, begin to sing their lamentations, without words of course, accompanying
[534] the sad song with the choc-que-choc produced by the coming together of small stones placed in a hollow gourd which they hold in their hands and rattle to beat time."

dye themselves red when they are courting, black when they wish 302
to appear dreadful, and green when celebrating some festivity.
These colors come off very easily.

While on the subject of personal adornment, I must say that 304
these Indians, to a greater or lesser degree, are in the habit of 824
tattooing themselves. I have seen this carried to great lengths among some Toba warriors, and especially among the women. It looks something like the scars left by smallpox and is set out in geometric designs. They do it by puncturing the skin with a [216] large thorn coated with a caustic substance which looks like milk and which leaves an indelible mark and remains under the epidermis. This substance is to be found mainly in Bolivia in the region of Santa Cruz, and is called in Guaraní iguoqui. The same name is given to the plant from which it comes which is a vine which produces bunches of white flowers and elongated fruit which break open and expel a sort of dust. In order to obtain iguoqui they cut the bunches before they ripen, and from the stalk there exudes the milky sap used for tattooing. While the operation is in process they keep the portion of stalk submerged in water so that its milky contents will not well out and be lost. A Chiriguano Indian saw one of these vines twenty leagues downstream from the frontier with the whites on the Bermejo River in the place called La Luna Nueva.

A custom very similar in nature to tattooing in its object 302
is the plucking of hair which is a universal activity among the inhabitants of the Chaco and possibly among all the Indians of the New World.

The object of this is to appear better looking, but it is possible that the real cause has something to do with hygiene and comfort.

Maybe they want to set themselves off in this way from the other animals, which are covered with hair.

Meanwhile, either because they are naturally so or because of a gradual natural selection based on their depilatory habit, [142] the fact is that the Indians are almost completely lacking in hair both on the body and face, and the little which does grow they pull out, with very few exceptions.

In spite of their language's being so complete I have been 533 ●
unable to discover canticles or any similar musical effort. All

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I was able to come upon among the Matacos was this attempt at a poetic song, sung goodness only knows how, by the squaws. However, in spite of its failings it does reveal the use of rime:

[537]

Bonica nambonica
Se-le-ctié-no:
Bonica, bonica;
Nambonica, nambonica.

which means: I like, I do not like you to embrace me:
I like, I like, I do not like, I do not like.

They have no dances; those violent gallopings about in a circle holding hands can hardly be called dancing. They are chaste, however, when they do dance, and if men and women happen to be at a dance together each sex forms its own separate circle, one within the other, but without touching.

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In a word, everything pertaining to the imagination, everything coming under the heading of religion, poetry or dance, can be said to be completely lacking among these savages.

[217] Chapter XIII

Social Matters (continued)

But if they have no imagination are they not also heartless and insensitive? It has repeatedly been said and written that the bonds of kinship are not at all close and easily severed among the Indians; and this "fact" has apparently been picked up not from observation but by analogy based on the absence of the family and the existence of concubinage.

I am afraid that this is going too far. We are accustomed to and molded by our Christian tradition, which, by the way, is an exception to the immense majority of other cultural traditions, an exception which is paid for in part by pretense and infidelity, and the barefaced immorality which is prostitution.

It seems to us that if a woman is not joined to a man by all the sacraments of the church, and if she is not his only wife, then there results a shrivelling in all the finer feelings.

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7

755 535 placed in their midst .... The spectators remained to do honour to the treatment and increase its efficacy, but not without fear that the *ahút*, on quitting the body of the sick man might enter into theirs».[1])

This savage dance was typical of the Indian dances as far as they have the character of magical conjurations. The Indians firmly believe that they can terrify and expel the evil demon who has taken possession of the patient by violent movements and menacing gestures such as those just described. As to the ostrich feathers which the sorcerers had fastened to ankles, wrists, head and waist, some words of explanation may be added. [789] The feather ornaments which the Indians wear in most of their dances and conjurations are not real ornaments but magical charms which eke out the powers emanating from the whole personality of the sorcerer. Like body-paintings, necklaces made of animals' teeth, rattle bells and gourds etc. they effectively help in conjuring the evil spirits.

The following is a conjuration accompanied by dancing which I myself witnessed in a Mataco village in the Bolivian Gran Chaco. Two Indian sorcerers were trying to cure a horse which was evidently badly attacked by an *aittáh* or *nahút*. The cure took place on various successive nights in an open place outside the *tolderia*. One of the sorcerers chanted in the usual way with his closed hand laid on the neck of the sick horse; the other both chanted and danced. Stamping with the feet alternately on the ground to the measure of his chant, he moved some ten steps away from the horse and then back again, repeating these movements several times. In his hand he held the rattle which he shook incessantly as an accompaniment to his dance and chanting. During the dance the man now and then took up a pebble or a small stick from the ground and threw it into the forest, spitting at the same time vigorously in the same direction. On the path where he moved he had laid some live embers. After a while the sorcerer interrupted his dance, stood close to the horse by the side of his colleague, and shaking the rattle heartily over the animal he shouted several times in a loud voice: *yame! yame! yame!*, that is to say, »go out, go out, go out!» These were the only words uttered during the whole conjuration. During his chanting the 755 533 sorcerers only pronounced refrains such *hö, hö, hö, a, a, a,* and so forth. The tune which the dancer again and again repeated and accompanied with his rattle was the following:

[1]) Pelleschi. *Otto mesi nel Gran Ciacco*, p. 140.

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7

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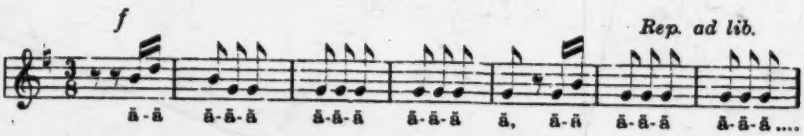
It is evident that the intention of the sorcerer was to drive away the evil demon into the forest in the direction in which he moved during the dance. With the same intention he threw the pebbles and spat in that direction. Again, the object of the embers placed on the path, as the Indians explained to me, was to burn the demon after it had been forced to leave the horse. —

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The invocation of the »good spirit», an act called *ihanéh* by the Mataco, generally immediately follows the conjuration proper, but may also take place without a preceeding conjuration. It is an important act, since on the intervention of the good spirit the success of the whole treatment depends, but externally it does not differ much from a conjuration. At the »prayer», however, the rattle is never used. In all cases which came under my notice the chant or invocation of the good spirit was a chant without words. Evidently the medicine-man thinks that the tone of his voice alone is enough to move the compassion of the guardian spirit.

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Thus, in one invocation of the good spirit which I witnessed the doctor again and again repeated the following refrains:

Am, gaum, gaum, am, gaum, gaum, am, gaum, gaum,
uh! am gaum, gaum, uh! aum, gaum, gaum, etc.

in another again he incessantly repeated:

ó-ho, ó-ho, ó-ho, ó-ho,
ó-ho, ó-ho, ó-ho, ó-ho, etc., etc.

Lastly follows the usual extraction of the »arrow» or splinter, if the medicine-man has been successful in his invocation of the good spirit and the latter has come down to his assistance. Generally the doctor draws out the evil by sucking. He spits out the splinter on the ground, thereupon shows it to the bystanders, and declares that it is the thing that has caused the evil. The procedure is thus exactly the same as among the Choroti.

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2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7

assemble in great quantities in a limited area, so that the fishing men will be able to catch them easily with their nets.

In this magical dance we easily recognize the same principle as for instance in the Choroti dance *Avúshe*, when the young men try to »hurry on» the girls by dancing and chanting around them. In the dance *Siyúhs*, the live fish, which is the direct object of the ceremony, evidently represents the rest of the fish in the river, which consequently, according to the principles of homoeopathic magic, is favourably influenced.

A few general words may be added as to dancing and chanting as magical rites. The Chaco Indians ascribe great efficacy to the singing or chanting which accompanies nearly all their magical and religious ceremonies. We have also seen that in this kind of conjuration as a rule no words are uttered; the »power» lies in the voice itself, being an emanation of the general magical power which, according to Indian belief, is inherent in the human body itself. It is exactly the same with the rhythmical movements of the body carried out in dancing, by which a part of the energy latent in the organism, so to speak, is released into actuality. Combined with the chanting and with the powerful sounds of drums and rattles, they are believed to act irresistibly upon supernatural beings.

But there is one more idea connected with dancing. One of the leading principles in the Indian conjurations is the principle of *imitation*. By imitating a person or a supernatural being in his movements, voice, or external appearance the magician believes that he can get hold of his soul or essence and thus be able to control him completely. Now, as a matter of fact, the Chaco Indians believe that *the evil spirits themselves dance* when at night they approach the villages in order to visit their inhabitants with sickness and misfortune. This idea is rightly expressed by Pelleschi with special reference to the Argentine Mataco, when he says of the *ahút* among other things: »These spirits . . . fly with the wind, following it and producing the same sounds as the storm; they dance in a ring round the tolderias (villages) or round the toldos (huts) of the persons whom they want to harm».[1]) This statement applies to all Chaco Indian beliefs. Since the natives fancy that dancing is the favourite way in which the spirits move, it is in accordance with their magical ideas that they should try to keep them back and counteract their evil influences by performing the same sort of movements, and in general by imitating their manners as faithfully as possible.

[1]) Pelleschi, *Los indios Matacos y su lengua*, p. 94.

3. Metraux E-5 (1933) 1939 SI7 Mataco SI7

may kill him. The snake's *āhat* is called *punsoya* (perhaps Spanish-ponzoña : poison).

When a man is bitten by a snake he must kill the reptile and take it home in order to be cured rapidly. If he has been bitten while away from his home, he must dig a groove and put the snake into it, facing it in the opposite direction to that which he is taking. Thus the snake cannot enter him.

Tawkxwax taught the men the procedure to be followed in order to cure snake bites.

XII. How to Become a Singer

Those who want to become good singers must go to the bush and stay there for quite a long time. They must kill birds who are good singers and eat them after they have been made into powder and mixed with blood extracted from the arm. When they are in the bush they must first beat a drum, then run. Thus they will perhaps dream about a singing bird. When they wake up they must then take their drums and sing the song they heard in their dreams. One must not awaken until the song is finished or he will not remember it. Everyone has two songs and he must sing them every day in order to learn them. Ordinarily several young men go to the bush and after they have dreamed of a song they sing one after another. Generally three or four days are sufficient to master a song.

One must not sing someone else's song. If after one has eaten a bird he dreams of an iguana, it is no longer worth while to go on, for he will never become a good singer. The birds one dreams about and who teach one how to sing are not ordinary birds, they are *paata* (supernatural beings). The women do not know how to sing but they can cry when they have to mourn. Not all women know how to weep. In order to weep well, a woman must dream about another woman who is a good mourner. There are some exceptional women who can sing.

wore a red knitted shirt of wool decorated with shells. Many wore on their foreheads frontlets trimmed with feathers. Another ceremonial accessory worn by most of them consisted of a bunch ostrich or *potsax* feathers. Two especially famous medicine-men had their faces painted black and red and on the hat of one of them were ostrich feathers. Naturally among the performers were a number of women, some of whom had their cheeks painted red. In front of the performer's row some spears had been stuck into the ground with the points downward. A spear with the point upward was also stuck in the ground at the same distance away as the others. During the ceremony a bunch of ostrich feathers was fixed to the spear with the head pointed up. When I arrived I noticed in front of the row a young man who was not a magician. He was grinding into a calabash the *hatax* seeds from which the medicine-men later took pinches.

The ceremony consisted of a song without words, identical to that sung by the medicine-men when curing diseases. The singing was punctuated by the rattling of the gourds and from time to time by the clacking of hoof and rattle necklaces and the whistling of the flutes. Each blowing of the whistle indicated a new phase in the traditional sequence of events associated with the ceremony (new metamorphosis of the spirit of the medicine-man, its arrival or departure from a given place). The rattle-gourd is sometimes brandished in a theatening manner as though to scare away an invisible being. In turn, without interrupting the ceremony, some of the performers took a snuff of *hatax* powder. Those who had bunches of feathers stretched them forward making the same gesture which has already been described when speaking of the rattles. One of the performers was running in front and behind his colleagues, holding a bunch of feathers in his hand and dusting them off from head to foot. He was assisted by another who was holding bells and rattles which he shook behind his companions. After they had taken a snuff of *hatax* the performers went on singing, shak-

3: Metraux E-5 (1933) 1939 SI7 Mataco SI7

755 ing the rattles and performing threatening gestures. Some
533 of the medicine-men sang the song of their own spirits ignoring the chants of their colleagues.

These preliminaries were succeeded by a direct attack
755 against the disease. Some individuals stepped out from the row and with violent gestures each brandished his bunch of feathers or the rattle-gourds then returned to their places in line. A man began kicking the earth and was immediately imitated by others who took up handfuls of dust which they threw in front of themselves. The whole troop followed this example and they rushed against the disease. Some concentrated all their strength on a special spot as though they had driven the Disease there, hitting the spot repeatedly with their sabers or bunches of feathers, then stamping on the ground as though they had buried their victim. The attack against the invisible enemy lasted for a long time, much enthusiasm being shown. Others brandished bunches of feathers which they had tied to the points of their spears.

The second part of the ceremony corresponds to what we might call a general desinfection. The medicine-men first wiped one another off, then let their gourds rattle quite close to their colleagues, then blew on each other's heads and necks as though for illness. Then everyone, both men and women, who had attended the ceremony were called. They all sat down and the medicine-men and-women went to them, wiped their bodies with bunches of feathers, blew on their heads and let the rattles tinkle all along their bodies. These rites were performed with the same care on children as on adults. Our friend Sanchez was given special attention. Aften having been blown on by the *cacique* and chief medicine-man, assisted by four magicians, two of whom blew on him and sang, the others shook their rattles, bells and gourds. The medicine-men who had remained in the same place turned around and repeated all the gestures they had performed before. Once more some of them stepped out of the file to cut grass under which they frantically buried the

They accompanied
755 themselves with a very deep song, a sort of *heh, heh,* repeated
535 rhythmically but on different notes. When the dancers
[533] got tired they left the file without ceasing to sing, and after they had rested for a while they resumed their places.

The second part consisted of dancing couples. The dancers faced each other in twos, and holding each other by the arm made side jumps, holding their legs parallel but slightly apart. Always moving from right to left they went several times round the altar, from time to time spinning themselves about. When they stopped to catch their breath one of them uttered a loud cry and started to dance alone, that is to say, making side jumps with parted and stiff legs, always facing the altar, although he whirled now and then. After spinning around twice he was joined by the others. They stopped dancing, sat down and one of them took off his ornaments. Another dancer covered himself entirely with a poncho and uttered his ë ë ë, always in the same tone. The medicine-man went to get the poncho he had left near the altar, he put it on the child and started to sing and to blow on the little patient. The dancer who had covered himself with the poncho kept silent, but remained under his cover. When the ceremony was over he began to sing.

a) *Treatment of a Man Possessed by a Spirit*

755 A man was caught by a spirit at about 9 P. M. He was decorated with red belts and placed in the center of the ceremonial ground. He was given two bells and in front of him were stuck three sticks, one of which about 2 yards long was totally covered with a rather dark cloth, the other two between 2½ and 3 fect high had rags and bunches of ostrich feathers fastened to their tops. The two medicine-men, wearing only belts of ostrich feathers and holding in their hands metal rattles, were standing by the side of the patient. A little further away were two assistants (probably

3: Metraux E-5 (1933) 1939 SI7 Mataco SI7

with a charata (bird, *Ortalis canicollis*) bone that they might rise early, and finally with an owl's bone in order to see and fight in the dark.

Matako always attack at daybreak. They kill only men, young or old, burn the village, and take away as captives the women and children. When my informant was a child his people fought against the Pilaga on the Pilcomayo where they had gone fishing. The last encounter between the Toba and the Matako took place four years ago (1929) near Pozo del Tigre. In consequence of that conflict, the Matako made prisoner a Toba woman, but later on they surrendered her to her people for a payment.

Toba children taken captive by the Matako were raised like Matako children. Later they married women of the tribe and had in general the same rights as the other members of the group.

Not so long ago the Matako practiced scalping. A man who took a scalp gave it to his wife who danced to express her joy at her husband's killing an enemy.

XVIII. Dances

The dances begin at sunset and are continued until one or two o'clock in the morning. These are only for unmarried people and the dancers are always surrounded by the children of the village; they enjoy these affairs very much. Children normally do not take part in the dances, but are sometimes admitted among the dancers in order that they may learn the songs and dances.

1. All participants form a circle with their faces toward the center, the right hand on the shoulder of the person to the right and the left hand on the waist of the person to the left. One of the dancers starts singing very slowly and everybody stamps rhythmically, the right foot marking the time. After a few notes all the dancers begin to sing. The rhythm of the song and the movement of the dancers become livelier and livelier and gradually the stamping develops

533 into a walk, the right foot moving first and the left one being
535 slowly brought up to it. The direction of the walk is always from left to right. The rhythm of the song becomes more and more accelerated, transforming itself into a rather rapid running, always in the same direction, the right foot stamping heavily on the ground thus marking the time. After fifteen minutes more or less, the dancers stop at a signal given by their leader, then begin again.

535 2. The dancers stand in two equal lines facing each other with their arms resting on their neighbor's shoulders. Between the two files the leader stands alone. When he gives a signal both files begin moving and singing. One of the files goes toward the other while the latter withdraws at a slow trot. In the meantime the leader runs between the files and along them, going more quickly than the dancers. Each time he runs around twice he points out a dancer in one of the files, who then moves rapidly toward the opposite file, choses a dancer and draws him out. Gradually the total number of dancers diminishes. When there are only three left, the leader nods to one of the remaining three, telling him to choose a dancer in the opposite file, then the game goes on in the opposite direction.

3. The dancers form two or more files, standing one behind the other, holding each other by the waist, singing and shouting. They start running, each file trying to dislodge the other line and throw down the dancers, being careful themselves not to be separated. In order to defend themselves the files run beside each other and when they think the time has come they try to cut the others off and throw disorder into the opposite side.

4. This dance begins like the first one, the difference being that the dancers' hands rest on the shoulders and not on the hips. Once the circle has started running it is broken up suddenly at one point and divided into several files that first stamp and then start running, forming a spiral which grows tighter and tighter. When they stand so close together

3: Metraux E-5 (1933) 1939 SI7 Mataco SI7

that all movement is impossible except to stamp, the spiral begins to unfold itself, first very slowly, then more and more quickly. The dancers are sometimes many. The circle divides into two files which develop simultaneously on both sides of the enclosure.

5. The young men form a file from the center of the dance enclosure to the outer border. Each dancer puts his hand on the shoulder of one neighbor and his other hand on the hip of his other neighbor. The file starts slowly to move; the man in the center whirls himself in a circle and the others follow the movement. The movement is faster toward the outer ends of the file and is accompanied by songs. Sometimes the singing stops but the movement goes on, then the singing starts again.

From time to time the dance is interrupted by a young man following a girl. After they have been running through the dancing place of the village they ordinarily sleep together and on the following day appear with their faces painted red.

According to my informant the dancing songs have no meaning, being mere rhythmic utterances.

XIX. Mourning Rites

A man is buried in the bush in a grave about six feet deep immediately after dying. The dead are buried reclining on their right sides with their faces toward their fields. If they were placed in any other position they could not find the way to their houses and they would become lost. No food is given to the dead except a calabash half filled with water. The soul drinks this water to quench his thirst during his journey to the underworld. All the personal belongings of the deceased are burned and their souls come out to join the soul of their owner. His animals are not killed, but when they die their souls join that of their master.

Immediately after death all grown up members of the deceased, even very remote relatives, begin to weep, ac-

764 companying themselves on rattles and drums. These laments last for about one hour after death, then begin again when the corpse is carried away to be buried and finally when they come back from the burial. But on the following day only very near relatives parents, grandparents, aunts or uncles, go on weeping. Those who were already mourning for someone else weep louder than the others because they mourn for two.

765 The laments take place at sunrise and at sunset as well as in the middle of the afternoon. During the first days of mourning the near relatives of the deceased go to his home to mourn. There they run and dance, going continually [535] from one place to another and shaking their rattles with both hands. They accompany the dance with lamentations. With the exception of the wife of the deceased, women always mourn in this way, shaking rattles, dancing and lamentations. Mourning women must not appear bareheaded or with a naked face for they ought not to be seen. People [533] sing and play on rattles during the mourning period in order that the dead person may readily be forgotten. The laments which last two or three hours every day are supposed to help the living forget the dead. After six months, more or less, they weep only at dawn and even then very rarely. [302] The relatives of the dead person must cut off their hair in order not to displease the dead who would attack their heads and make them bald. The wife, at the death of her husband, observes mourning for two years. She shuts herself up in a special little hut often adjoining the hut of her married son, or daughter if she has no son.

768 The house of the deceased is pulled down and a new one built about 10 yards away. If this were not done the dead man would come back within fourteen days after death, attracted by memories of his previous life. The materials of the old house are used in the construction of the new one.

A widow may leave her home to satisfy her wants only at night. If she goes out during the day the dead man gets

584 make their appearance, and having studied the chosen cavalier join him in the
836 dance, holding him by the shoulder or around his body (Fig. 2). Either during or
[535] immediately after the dance the girl draws away her elected partner, taking him as a rule to the house of her parents.

302 The introduction to a pre-marital sexual relation can naturally take place in
832 some other manner. It often happens that a young man desiring a sweetheart paints a particular pattern on his face, a large red oval or circle containing small white spots on both cheeks. Everybody then knows that he is seeking a girl, and he is called *łyatithli*. The day after, perhaps even the same day, a girl will be seen painted with the same pattern. She is called *sawuklawh*, because by her painting she indicates that she accepts him. This method also shows that it is the girl who
836 makes the choice. He makes himself available both at the nightly dance and by painting himself, and she is free to accept him or to refrain from so doing. I was
[558] assured many times that a young man so selected has no chance of excusing him-
548 self; he would lose face if he attempted to do so, and would call down upon him-
[182] self the anger of the girl's family. A young man who is not chosen by a girl despite his wish can in the meantime console himself with one of the village prostitutes, who appear to have precisely this function, as extra-marital infidelity with a prostitute is regarded as valid unfaithfulness.

301 It has already been mentioned that young men and women seeking love can
832 often be recognized by the painting of their faces and by a general urge to adorn themselves. Also restricted to this period are a special broad armlet made of black and white beads, and—particularly for the girls—an ordinary white string of beads from which depend red woollen cords with bead tassels that hang down the
832 neck (Fig. 1). Young men who seek or have just found a sweetheart, traditionally
[533] evince great musicality, and are practically the only ones who play the Jew's harp
534 and a primitive musical bow. The music gives expression to longing and un-
[304] requited love. Young couples have a special form of caress, pressing the cheek of their partners with the points of their nails. This leaves behind small wounds visible for a week or more, and is proof of great infatuation.

836 When a girl has found a sweetheart no secret is made of the fact; at all events all the young people in the village will be aware of the various short-lived unions that have begun. But when she brings her lover home at night to her parents' house they nevertheless evince a form of discretion. The parents pretend to be asleep whilst the young ones creep in; but the father, as though by chance, may cause the fire to blaze up so that he can see whom the girl has chosen. He then lies
583 down to rest. It is often said of a young couple who in this way commence inti-
836 mate relations that "they have begun to be married". This means that they have commenced a kind of trial marriage the result of which is far from certain. The
[581] girl has primarily chosen her sweetheart on the basis of an undefined mixture of
[582] sexual attraction and other propensities, whereas the girl's parents wish to limit the choice to those economically acceptable. Early the next morning the new

/213 cont./

755 2. The medicine men had transformed their "image"
756 (spirit) into isti'n, a bird of prey, in order to go find the illness,
774 but as on this occasion the latter had proved particularly
825 malicious, this first attempt at conciliation had failed, and the men had to transform themselves into mɨssa', earth bees.

Ceremony for the Expulsion of Illness for the Benefit of One Person

(January 24, 1933)

755 In a small neighboring village a man was caught by naLi'le. Toward midnight he was dressed in red and white and
[292] seated in the center of the place for ceremonies; he was given two bells. Facing the sick man three sticks were stuck in the ground; one of them about two meters long was entirely covered with a dark cloth; the other two were 75 to 85 cm. long and had pieces of cloth attached to their upper part, which was topped with tufts of ostrich feathers. The two medicine men, dressed only in belts of ostrich feathers and holding iron rattles in their hands, were at the sick man's side. A little farther away were two assistants (probably members of the sick man's family) and three dancers; all were holding rattles.

[533] The medicine men sang and blew on the sick man, who
[535] shook his bells, while the dancers and the assistants stamped in place, /214/ making their rattles sound. The dancers next began to run around the group in the following manner: they went from left to right while turning their backs to the sticks; arriving level with the latter for the second time, they changed direction and continued in this fashion, alternately making two circles in each direction, while the assistants beat time with their feet and sang, making their rattles jingle, and the medicine men continued to sing and blow. The sick man had remained motionless during this time. After about ten circlings, the dancers

/214 cont./

755 went to rest, smoking and talking with the assistants, but the medicine men did not stop singing and shaking their rattles, the sick man continuing to remain motionless. The dancing was [533] [535] resumed after a quarter of an hour, accompanied this time by the rattles and singing of all the officiants and by the sick person's bells. The participants had a fairly joyful air. The ceremony ended everyone sat down and began to smoke. Then they carried away the sticks and began to take off the ornaments, first those of the medicine men, then those of the assistants and dancers, and lastly those of the sick man, who went quietly to his hut.

Note

[714] [716] naLi'le is a spirit who lives underground and steals the images of men. Sometimes those whom it has taken thus become medicine men.

Ceremony for the Expulsion of Illness
for the Benefit of One Person

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(March 20-24, 1933)

A woman who was seriously ill and very rich was treated by five great medicine men of the region.

[349] In the area around the house where she lived, about five square meters of ground were cleared, wooden posts were erected there, and a kind of tent was erected; one of the posts, of about six meters, was decorated with two large pieces of cloth and an old Argentinian flag. Around the tent were placed the objects demanded by the illness or appropriate to please it: a spread-out mosquito net, a poncho on a weaving loom, an old suitcase, some cloths of loud colors, a saddle, a military coat,